

States, and to consolidate all power in the hands of that government which they have so important a free hold estate. But it is not by the consolidation or concentration of powers, but by their distribution that good government is effected. Were not this great country already divided into States, that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can so much better do than a distant authority. Every State again is divided into counties, each to take care of what it has within its local bounds; each county again into townships or wards to manage minute details; and every ward into farms, to be governed each by its individual proprietor. Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap°, we should soon want bread. It is by this partition of cares descending in gradation from general to particular that the mass of human affairs may be best managed for the good and prosperity of all. I repeat that I do not charge the judges with wilful and ill-intentioned error; but honest error must be arrested where its toleration leads to public ruin. As for the safety of society, we commit honest maniacs to Bedlam, so judges should be withdrawn from the bench whose erroneous biases are leading us to dissolution. It may, indeed, injure them in fame or in fortune, but it saves the Republic, which is the first and supreme law. (From Autobiography, 1821. C I., 81.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—The nation will judge both the offender and judges for themselves. If a member of the executive or Legislature does wrong, the day is never far distant when the people will remove him. They will see then and amend the error in our Constitution, which makes any branch independent of the nation. They will see that one of the great co-ordinate branches of the Government, setting itself in opposition to the other two, and to the common sense of the nation, proclaims impunity to that class of offenders which endeavor to overturn the Constitution, and are themselves protected by the Constitution itself; for impeachment is a farce that will not be tried again. (To William B. Giles, 1807. C. V., 68.)

JUDICIARY, FEDERAL.—The great object of my fear is the fed-